DECLASSIFIED EXCISE

THURSDAY
JULY 9, 1953

Messrs. Hallstein and Blankenhorn came down to La Lanterne this morning. They said [redacted] Adenauer felt absolutely certain the Russians would shortly make a new move designed to defeat him in the German elections which are set for September 6. He believes, therefore, [redacted] he should take the initiative so as to exclude the possibility of the Russians being the first to offer a plan that would appeal to German public opinion regarding the reunification of the two parts of the country.

It has occurred to him that the most courageous and useful action in this regard would be for the Western Powers themselves now to demand a four-power conference and set a basis for discussion. Of course, no conference should take place without the prior acceptance by the Soviets of the basic conditions determined upon by the Western Powers. In the offer of the three occupying Western Powers it must be stated that nothing will be acceptable to them that would interfere with European integration. It should point out to the Soviets that the EDC is an excellent starting point toward a wide system of security. For example, only by unanimous consent of the six participating Governments can Germany have more than a stated number of troops under arms. The same applies to the limitation on armament manufacturing in Germany and on the armaments allowed in the possession of the Germans.

The Chancellor during the course of last night prepared a letter which he instructed Blankenhorn to take immediately to Washington and deliver to Secretary Dulles as President of the present meeting of the three Foreign Ministers. Hallstein translated the letter to me. It advocated an offer for a four-power conference by September at the latest by the three occupying powers to the Soviet Government. The Chancellor wishes this discussed in Washington and if the decision is favorable then immediate announcement to be made. This he thinks

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would strengthen his position and electoral prospects in Germany.

They asked me to advise the State Department that Blankenhorn was on his way. I asked Hallstein and Blankenhorn whether they had already taken up this matter with Dr. Conant and if not, why not, since that was the proper way to handle it. They said the decision of the Chancellor had been [redacted] sudden and the text had been put together largely by telephone conversations between the three of them. The Chancellor himself was somewhere in a retreat where he was supposed to be taking a vacation. They had tried to reach Dr. Conant in Bonn yesterday but he had been away and was only returning there this morning.

I informed them that under the circumstances I would advise Washington that Blankenhorn was to depart from Paris by air in a few hours and would be carrying a letter from the Chancellor. I asked Hallstein if he would not arrange to return immediately to Bonn and lay the whole matter before Dr. Conant, which he said he would be delighted to do and recognized this procedure as the way it should be handled.

We had an [redacted] interesting talk on other matters regarding the German situation and then broke up our cop-and-robber conference.

I called Jim Conant on the telephone and told him as best I could in guarded language [redacted] of what had happened. He said [redacted] Hallstein had already called him and made an appointment to see him at 10:00 o'clock tonight.

B1, FC 1-301(d)

I sent the following telegrams to the Department today:

"SECSTATE WASHINGTON. PRIORITY. COLED 11.

"RPTD INFO: HICOG BONN. PRIORITY 21.

"LIMITED DISTRIBUTION ONLY. BONN EYES ONLY FOR CONANT.

"1. Blankenhorn came see me on his way to US by air tonight with letter to Secstate, as presiding officer three Foreign Ministers meeting, from Chancellor Adenauer. It appears that Adenauer, after ruminating yesterday, while on vacation

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conceived letter late last night asking Foreign Ministers in Washington urgently to consider his now changed views on Four Powdr Conference. Text is still being altered in course tripartite telephonic conversations between Hallstein, Blankenhorn and Adenauer and will be discussed with Conant in Bonn tonight by Hallstein, who was in Paris this morning.

"2. Letter to be presented by Blankenhorn in Washington tomorrow apparently pleads for West to anticipate further Soviet acts designed to trouble German preelection atmosphere by wresting initiative from Soviets through invitation four power conference in autumn at the latest with agenda regarding Germany substantially that set forth by Bundestag after debate over German reunification.

"3. I gather that Blankenhorn hopes to slip quietly into Washington in his customary unobstrusive fashion and present the Chancellor's views to the Secretary without involving the local German diplomatic representative but this tactic like the letter is subject to further alterations. BRUCE."

"SECSTATE WASHINGTON. PRIORITY. NIACT. COLED 12.

"RPTD INFO: HICOG BONN EYES ONLY CONANT. 22

"LIMITED DISTRIBUTION ONLY AND AMBASSADOR DILLON.

"Understand at yesterday's French Cabinet meeting preceding Bidault's departure Washington accord was reached and Bidault has authority to join in any statement strongly endorsing European integration projects. Therefore very important seize this occasion put French Government on record with British and ourselves in unequivocal terms this regard. Suggest appropriate text to be embodied in communique be presented and discussed privately by Secretary with Bidault and Salisbury together or separately.

"Matter of foreign ministers meeting August 7 at Baden Baden should be specifically referred to in communique and assurance of Bidault given that this will not be a pro forma affair but participating foreign ministers will

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remain together for whatever period of time is necessary to make fundamental decisions. It is essential from standpoint German elections, as well as for other evident reasons, that vital and continuing interest be shown in European political federation as the final step proposed to organize a prosperous Europe on a peaceful basis.

"The present meetings in Washington seem to offer unusual opportunity to stimulate the somewhat enfeebled idea of making Europe. The setting of a date for debating EDC by the Netherlands Parliament, the announcement yesterday that the Belgian Parliament will not recess as previously planned but will continue to consider the EDC treaty, and the vigorous and effective reaffirmation by the President of our policy regarding European integration combine to make this a propitious time for the three powers, and especially France, to still the harmful rumors that there is vacillation and division amongst us on this essential point.

"Our key objective now must be to do everything reasonable and possible to assist Adenauer's reelection. I have been assured that what I have suggested above would in his opinion be helpful and conducive to this end, especially the playing up of a really constructive conference at Baden Baden. BRUCE."

We had a lunch at home for the following people: the Joyces, the Kingsbury Smiths, the Johnson Garrets, the Thoresens, the Raileys, the Faramons, the William Batts, the Schoenbruns, the Vissons, General de Benouville, Frank Wisner, Tracy Barnes, and the Bohlens.

This afternoon Ben Welles came to see me about European integration. At times I begin to think Jean Monnet, Tommy and myself are the only people remaining who believe it may go through.

Phil Bonsal stopped in and had a talk with me. He is on his way home from a trip to Indo-China. He believes if the French union forces, with their

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native associates, will take the offensive in a determined manner this autumn much could be accomplished there. He is rather discouraged about Bao Dai's not displaying a strong leadership. He said [redacted] when he visited him at Dalat the members of his court seemed to be more worried about rabies than they were over the Viet-Minh. It appears [redacted] one of the royal dogs developed hydrophobia and everybody in the vicinity was, by order of the Emperor, inoculated. When Phil asked if anyone had been bitten by the mad dog the answer was no, but that he had licked some of them.

Bombassei, of the Italian Delegation to the EDC Committee, came to see me and we had a [redacted] genial conversation. With his appearance, he really could make a fortune in Hollywood. He is [redacted] gay and pleasant.

We went late this evening to a cocktail party given by Eve Curie, almost the only one I have attended since coming to Paris. [redacted] It was lots of fun.

We went to a dinner tonight at the Australian Embassy in honor of three Prime Ministers - one of Tasmania, one of New Zealand, and one, I think, of Queensland. I sat between Anne Pleven and the [redacted] nice wife of the Tasmanian Prime Minister. Keith Officer's house on Rue de Varenne is a very fine 18th Century example of architecture.

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